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ABSTRACT

To examine new approaches to drug law enforcement, this report presents a number of police programs that emphasize prevention of drug use or disruption of drug transactions. The report is based on extensive interviews with police chiefs and officers, criminologists, criminal justice management consultants, U.S. Department of Justice personnel, and community coalitions, drawing on the experiences of more than 50 police departments across the United States. Few of these new programs have been evaluated, and there is an urgent need to assess their effectiveness before they are replicated. The report also describes measures that have helped police departments and communities cooperate in developing programs that reach beyond the framework of traditional policing. The following chapters are included: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "The Drug Problem"; (3) "Police Response to the Drug Problem"; (4) "Community Response to the Drug Problem"; (5) "Current Police Approaches: Back to the Beat"; (6) "Drug Control Costs and Federal Police Assistance"; (7) "Future Directions"; and (8) "Methodology." Appendixes include tables of federal assistance to drug control programs and selected findings from a survey of police chiefs. (Contains 2 tables and 36 references.) (SLD)

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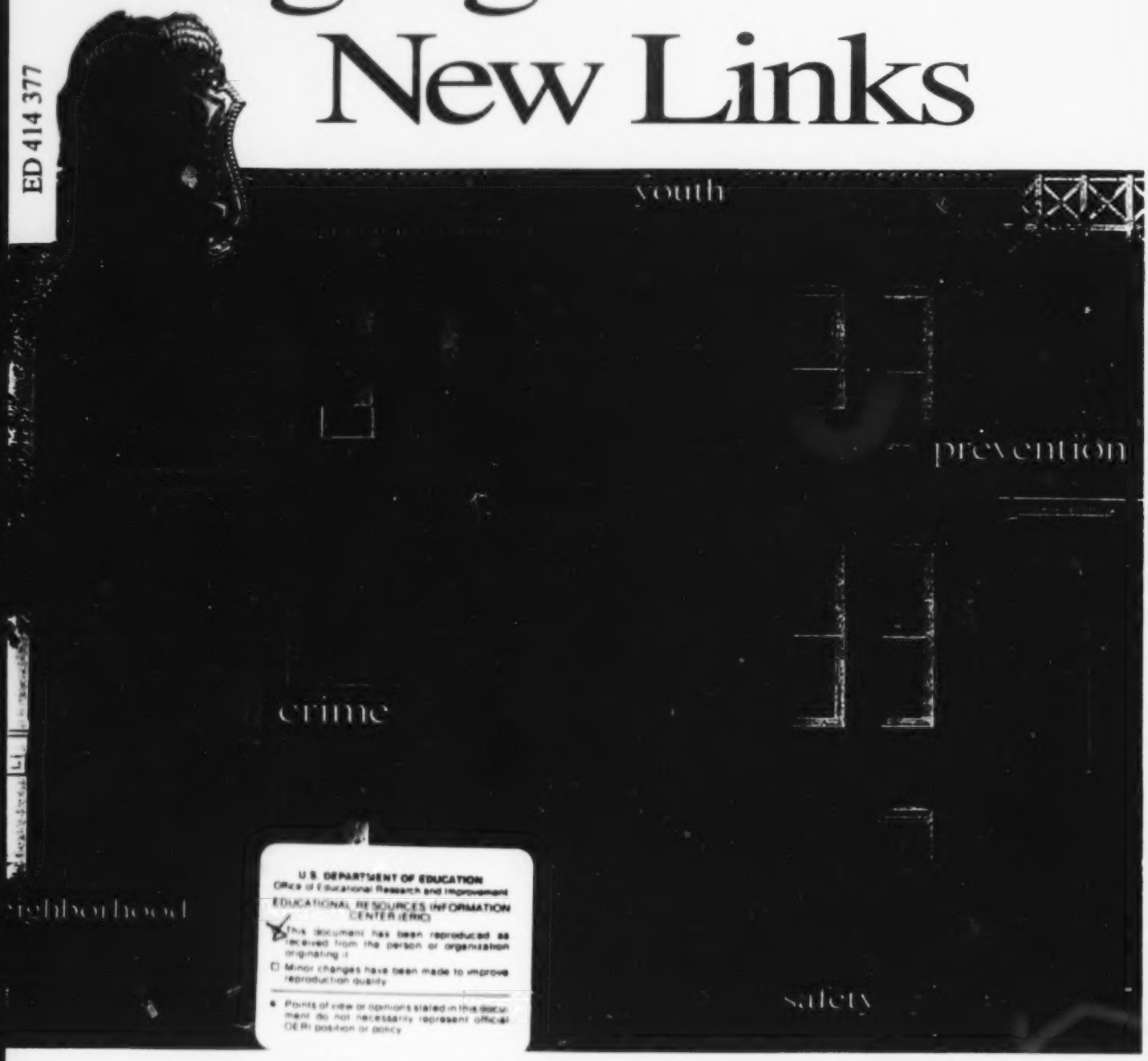
Forging New Links



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Police, Communities and the Drug Problem

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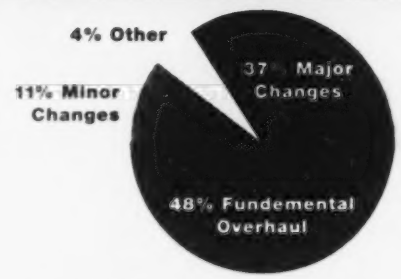
1. Introduction

Law enforcement traditionally has relied on arrests and convictions to reduce crime. Today, however, many police departments, in collaboration with communities, are experimenting with new concepts that include education and prevention. These approaches place a high priority on deterring crime, including drug abuse and drug-related violence.

This innovation comes as no surprise. Many police officers have concluded that heavy reliance on the criminal justice system to solve the nation's drug problems is simply not working. Sixty percent of police chiefs say law enforcement efforts to reduce drug abuse are unsuccessful, according to a nationwide 1996 Peter D. Hart Research Associates poll; nearly half called for a fundamental overhaul of how we deal with the drug problem in the United States.

Drug Strategies supports a balanced approach to the nation's drug problem—one that combines law enforcement efforts with education, prevention and treatment. To examine new approaches to law enforcement, Drug Strategies has prepared *Forging New Links: Police, Communities and the Drug Problem*. This report is based on extensive interviews with police chiefs and officers, criminologists, criminal justice management consultants, U.S. Department of Justice personnel, and community coalitions. More than 50 police departments across the nation were contacted.

Police Chiefs Call for New Strategy to Fight Drugs



Peter D. Hart Research Associates, 1996

Forging New Links presents a number of police programs that emphasize prevention of drug use or disruption of drug transactions. Few of these new programs have been evaluated; there is an urgent need to assess their effectiveness before they are replicated elsewhere. The report also describes measures that have helped police departments and communities to cooperate in developing programs that reach beyond the framework of traditional policing.

Experience has shown that stand-alone programs, however innovative, do not provide long-term solutions to the drug problem. We encourage police departments, community groups and local government officials to develop comprehensive, integrated approaches. Prevention, education, treatment and law enforcement are all components of a successful strategy.

II. The Drug Problem

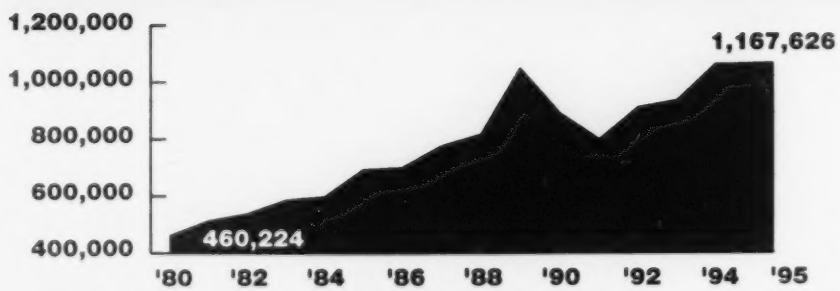
The nation's chiefs of police and the American public agree: drug abuse is a major problem that is growing worse. In a 1996 Hart poll, 6 out of 10 police chiefs reported that drug abuse was the most serious problem facing their communities—more serious than domestic violence, property crime, or violent crime. In a survey a year earlier, over half of Americans reported concern about drug use among young people and the violence associated with **drug trafficking.** Two-thirds of police chiefs and the American public believe the drug problem has grown worse over the past five years.

"Over half of Americans reported concern about drug use among young people."

These perceptions exist despite significant government spending on drug control efforts. From 1981 to 1997, the Federal government spent nearly $60 billion on domestic drug law enforcement. Federal expenditures for domestic drug law enforcement during the period 1991-95 were eight times larger than expenditures from 1981-85. Moreover, state and local spending on drug law enforcement over the past two decades is estimated to be at least twice as great as Federal spending on domestic drug law enforcement.

Despite these budget increases, the drug problem persists. Arrests for drug offenses (possession or sale) have risen sharply in recent years, climbing from 460,224 in 1980 to 1,167,600 in 1995. While arrests for serious property crimes have gradually declined since

Drug Arrests Climbing



Uniform Crime Reports, FBI

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1991, drug arrests increased 46 percent. In 1995, 23 percent of state prisoners and 60 percent of Federal prisoners were incarcerated for drug law violations.

Since 1991, drug use has climbed sharply among junior high and high school students, according to the annual survey, *Monitoring the Future*. Increases have been most dramatic among the youngest teens. In the past five years, drug use has more than doubled among eighth- and tenth-graders. Results from the most recent *National Household Survey on Drug Abuse*, reported in August 1997, suggest that these trends may be changing: in 1996, young people ages 12 through 17 reported slight declines in drug use. However, epidemiologists are cautious about interpreting the newest data since the statistically significant differences between rates of drug use in 1995 and 1996 are very small. Information from other sources, including the new *Monitoring the Future* survey, which will be released in December 1997, will be needed to determine whether **teen drug use** is in fact declining.

Rising teen drug use has been accompanied by increasing drug arrests among juveniles. From 1991 to 1995, juvenile drug law violations (possession or sale) more than doubled. The nationwide Drug Use Forecasting system (DUF) reports that in 1996, more than half of arrested juveniles tested positive for drugs at the time of arrest, compared to less than one-fifth five years ago.

“In 1996, more than half of arrested juveniles tested positive for drugs.”

Portland, Oregon:

Training Landlords to Tackle Drug Problems

"Much of today's drug activity occurs in rental properties," according to Officer Dave Thoman. "We decided the best way to reduce this problem in the Portland area was to join forces with local landlords and give them the skills and support to eliminate drug houses from their properties."

Through the Landlord Training Program, launched in 1989, police train landlords to screen tenants, to recognize the presence of drugs, to follow proper eviction procedures when necessary and to adopt numerous other anti-drug management techniques. So far, the program has trained more than 7,000 Portland-area landlords and property managers, responsible for more than 100,000 rental units.

Before the start of the program, one in four Portland-area landlords reported drug activity within their rental units during the previous two years, and less than half conducted credit checks on potential renters. Six months after the training, 99 percent reported a greater understanding of their role in reducing drug activities and 90 percent felt more confident in their ability to recognize warning signs. Perhaps most importantly, 91 percent of trainees reported that they made changes in the way they manage their properties to reduce drug problems.

Originally funded by the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Landlord Training Program has earned national recognition from the Innovation in State and Local Government Award from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. Since 1994, more than 500 personnel from 33 states have attended train-the-trainer seminars across the country, and several states, including California, Arizona, Minnesota and Texas, have adopted the program.

For more information, call (503) 823-0283.

American Law Enforcement. Decentralization and fragmentation are two of the most distinctive elements of the American law enforcement system. Decentralization supports the popular concept of local control of law enforcement, encourages **innovation** at the local level and allows law enforcement to reflect local culture and conditions. At the same time, fragmentation is often an obstacle to coordination and consistency and to the adoption of successful programs. Approximately 90 percent of police departments in the country have less than 10 officers, according to the Police Foundation. Each of the thousands of local law enforcement agencies sets its own policies; differences in codes and enforcement priorities across jurisdictions can impair local efforts to control illicit activities. For example, a drug transaction that erupts in violence and includes the transport of a hostage across a state line could simultaneously involve law enforcement agencies at the Federal, state, county and local levels in two states, several counties and multiple communities.

Decentralization and fragmentation characterize American law enforcement.

Evolution of Professional Policing. A century ago, many police officers were poorly educated and untrained. Their approach to law and order reflected the roots of the profession in the tradition of a night watch system. Police walked beats and were influenced by the political machines that governed their communities. Police were vulnerable to corruption due to a combination of factors, including low pay, lack of job protection, and continuous exposure to temptation as they interacted with the community they patrolled. Prohibition tempted poorly paid **police officers** to look the other way as the black market in alcohol flourished.

The era of professional policing was ushered in during the 1920s by reforms largely credited to the work of Police Chief August Vollmer (Berkeley, California). Reforms included officer training, adequate salaries, competent leadership, and systematic record keeping. The work of Berkeley Criminology Dean Orlando W. Wilson on scientific management further revolutionized police work by centralizing command, protecting police officers as civil

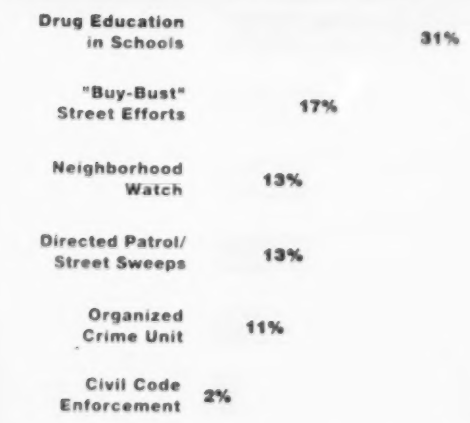
servants and substituting motor patrol for foot patrol. Departments utilized advances in technology to improve effectiveness. Police adopted a rapid response model, in which radio-equipped patrol vehicles were quickly dispatched to crime scenes. The reforms helped insulate officers from special interest groups in the community, fostering a more objective, professional relationship between officers and citizens. However, this insulation came at a price when the urban riots of the 1960s caught some police departments by surprise.

> **"The crack epidemic shifted police attention to street sales."**

Traditional Drug Enforcement. Traditionally, Federal, state and local law enforcement agencies have focused primarily on wholesale drug activity, often utilizing specialized narcotics units. The introduction of **crack cocaine** in the mid-1980s led local police to focus more on retail street sales. By 1990, drug law enforcement in most American cities relied more on regular officers than narcotics units. But these efforts did not reduce drug activity.

There are over 17,000 state and local law enforcement agencies engaged in almost 160 different anti-drug tactics, according to the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). PERF's 1996 report, *Police Antidrug Tactics*, lists a wide range of activities, most focusing on supply reduction. These efforts include police observation of drug sales in plain view; directed patrols that concentrate police presence in areas of heavy drug activity; undercover operations; regulatory code enforcement; community-based programs; education and prevention initiatives; and anti-drug efforts targeting locations, individuals and events, such as music concerts.

Most Effective Way to Reduce Drug Crime



Peter D. Hart Research Associates, 1996

In the 1996 Hart Survey, police chiefs rated six common anti-drug activities for effectiveness in reducing drug crime in their community. Drug education in public schools was judged the most effective activity—nearly one out of three police chiefs rated it first. Street-level "buy-bust" efforts were chosen by 17 percent of police

chiefs. Neighborhood watch/community policing programs focused on drugs and directed patrol activities/street sweeps were rated most effective by 13 percent of the police chiefs, followed by organized crime units with responsibilities for drug enforcement (11 percent), and civil code enforcement (2 percent).

Education Efforts. The high regard in which police chiefs hold drug education programs was reinforced by another response in the same 1996 Hart poll when 47 percent of the chiefs named education as the most effective approach to controlling the nation's drug problem. This belief in education has been the driving force behind several school-based programs. One of these, D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education), is being implemented by uniformed police officers in 70 percent of school districts across the country. D.A.R.E., started by the Los Angeles Police Department in 1983, is a K-12 program with a 17-session core curriculum presented in the fifth or sixth grade. The core curriculum covers important **prevention elements,** including social resistance skills training. In addition, it includes many appealing features, including anti-drug essays and a graduation ceremony at the end of the core session.

"Police have high regard for drug education."

While D.A.R.E. has been very successful at engaging many communities in prevention activities, four published evaluations (using pretest-posttest control group designs) suggest that D.A.R.E. does not reduce new tobacco, alcohol, or other drug use. The 1994 revised curriculum for fifth and sixth grades has not yet been evaluated.

In Spokane, Washington, police and the community have developed a curriculum covering drugs, crime and safety issues. Research from the G.R.E.A.T. (Gang Resisting Education And Training) program shows that having a teacher actively involved in the curriculum, along with a police officer, provides **opportunities** for ongoing applications of the curriculum through the year.

Another school initiative, the School Resource Officer Program, funded in part by the U.S. Department of Education, permanently assigns law enforcement officers to

schools to carry out three roles: law enforcement, law-related counseling and law-related education. The law enforcement function includes surveillance for illegal substances and weapons. This program has grown rapidly in recent years. For example, in North Carolina in spring 1996, there were 243 School Resource Officers (SROs) in place; by spring 1997, the total was 390, according to the North Carolina Center for Prevention of School Violence. SROs, in talks to parents about concerns they may have about their **children's safety,** can increase parental involvement and foster a greater sense of community.

Elements of Effective Education. Extensive research during the past decade shows that some drug prevention programs can substantially reduce new drug, alcohol and tobacco use, even among high-risk children. Experts have identified essential elements of effective drug abuse prevention programs. First, they are based on a sound theoretical or research foundation. Developmentally appropriate information about drugs is provided, along with training in social resistance skills to teach students how to say no to peers effectively and assertively while still maintaining friendships. Normative education provides students with accurate information about the numbers of people who actually use alcohol, tobacco or drugs, in order to correct the frequent misperception that drug use is widespread. Broader-based personal and social skills training appear to enhance program effects.

"Social resistance skills are key to prevention."

Training students to recognize internal pressures, such as anxiety and stress, and external pressures, such as peer attitudes and advertising, that may tempt them to use alcohol, tobacco and drugs is also important. Effective programs use interactive teaching techniques such as **role plays** and group discussions rather than traditional "chalk and talk". Teacher training and cultural sensitivity to the target population are essential to program success. Additional program elements such as family or media components enhance curriculum effectiveness. Finally, experts agreed that adequate evaluation of prevention curricula is critical.

Spokane, Washington:

Powerful Prevention Education

"The Spokane Police Department views youth education as a critical weapon in our battle against drugs and crime," said Sergeant Mike Prim. "In recent years, we've worked closely with teachers and parents to launch several innovative school programs."

Officers and citizens developed a long-term intervention designed to make a lasting impact on children's decisions about drugs. They developed a curriculum called TEAM (To Educate and Motivate) and copyrighted the 150-page manual describing it.

TEAM includes grades K-8, and covers drugs, violence, and safety issues. Teams of police officers present the lessons; six former D.A.R.E. officers serve as their mentors. Parents and teachers are involved in TEAM's program planning and development, as well as participate in some lessons. In a 1996 survey, police asked 10,000 TEAM parents for their assessment of the program; 73 percent returned the survey. Twenty-three percent of respondents offered additional constructive comments about the program.

For high school students, the Spokane police have different programs, one of which is based on the grim fact that a person dies in a drunk-driving crash every 15 minutes. For a day and a half, every 15 minutes, a student is removed from a classroom, given black clothing and pale makeup, and returned to school representing one "dead" person. These students cannot speak or react to others for the rest of the program. They are treated to a night at a local hotel, where they develop a presentation for an assembly the next day at which teens involved with drunk driving tell about its impact on their lives.

Another dramatic program assembles high school students in their outdoor stadium, where a mock accident is staged with previously totaled cars followed by a full response by police, fire fighters, emergency medical technicians, and a funeral home. Bodies are pulled from the car, triaged, and cared for by the EMT. The police conduct an accident investigation, including sobriety tests. At least one body is driven away in a hearse. Several jurisdictions in the area have adopted this project.

For more information about these programs, call the Spokane Police Department at (509) 625-4175.

Miami, Florida:

Rewarding Positive Youth Behavior

In 1990 a Miami teenager defied peer pressure and turned in a loaded gun he found at his school. To acknowledge publicly his positive decision, the Miami Police Department recognized his action during a police ceremony. Thus was born "Do the Right Thing," a prevention program created by the police department in collaboration with community volunteers.

Today the department receives up to 1,000 nominations per month recognizing positive behavior of young people in the Dade Metropolitan Area. The nominations are submitted by teachers, parents, community leaders and other adults. All nominees receive certificates of recognition, T-shirts, and congratulatory letters from Chief of Police Donald H. Warshaw. A criminal justice panel selects 10 winners who are honored at an officers' award ceremony with savings bonds. One Sunday a month, the *Miami Herald*, the city's largest circulation newspaper, publishes the names of the winners.

"Do the Right Thing promotes positive youth behavior and addresses the root causes of youth delinquency," said Suzanne Friedman, the program's Executive Director. "By boosting kids' self-esteem, this program strengthens their ability to say no to temptations like drugs. At the same time, it creates positive peer role models."

Funded with confiscated drug money from the Miami Police Department's Law Enforcement Fund, Do the Right Thing also receives support from a variety of organizations, including local television stations, the school system, the local Seaquarium, the Metro Zoo, McDonald's, and local banks. British Airways donates several all-expense trips to England for each year's top winners.

The program goes beyond nominations and awards. The police sponsor community picnics, community service activities, sporting events, and fundraising for college scholarships.

Recently commended by President Clinton, Do the Right Thing has been replicated in nearly 20 cities.

For more information, call (305) 579-3344. 13

Community Coalitions Fighting Substance Abuse. The crack cocaine epidemic of the late 1980s mobilized many communities to respond to the drug problem. The community coalitions formed then are now focusing their efforts on the growing use of illicit drugs by the nation's youth. They can be valuable partners for law enforcement agencies.

More than 4,000 community anti-drug coalitions have sprung up across the United States since 1989. Bringing together diverse **volunteer** talents, these coalitions have developed some of the nation's most creative responses to substance abuse. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation was among the first to support this movement. The Foundation has spent more than $50 million on its Fighting Back programs, money earmarked to encourage the growth of citizen coalitions to reduce demand for drugs and alcohol. Fighting Back has also stimulated the Federal government to provide support for community coalitions; the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention has provided $601 million since 1990 to support several hundred substance abuse prevention coalitions.

The **Drug Free Communities Act,** signed into law on June 27, 1997, also provides financial support to communities that demonstrate a long-term commitment to reduce substance abuse among youth. The legislation encourages the creation and support of community anti-drug coalitions by authorizing $10 million in Fiscal Year 1998, and up to $43.5 million in 2002 for support of such efforts. Two national organizations, the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA) and Join Together, provide technical assistance to this growing movement.

Community concerns about crime and drug abuse have created opportunities for citizen collaboration with police departments. In Georgetown, Texas, community agencies worked with police in designing a plan to clean up a crime-ridden recreation site and helped implement the plan. Police in Elgin, Illinois, adopted a successful outreach program that works through community organizations to bring drunk driving prevention messages to Hispanic immigrants.

"Communities are valuable partners for law enforcement agencies."

"More federal support for coalitions is now available."

"A comprehensive strategy is needed to balance prevention, treatment and law enforcement efforts."

Comprehensive Programs. The U.S. Department of Justice has identified essential principles for integrated, comprehensive community-based programs to reduce crime. These principles include:

- assessment of the problem;
- outreach to all relevant disciplines;
- a comprehensive plan and implementation schedule;
- an evaluation design; and
- a plan for sustaining long-term support.

Such programs must involve changing community norms, such as ending tolerance for drug markets and informing police about illegal activities. These steps will both enhance police efforts in prevention and education and foster change in community behavior as well.

This will require rigorous training of both law enforcement officials and community residents. Fostering positive relations through a shared problem-solving approach should decrease community fear of police and encourage collaboration between citizens and police.

Increasing **cultural sensitivity** may be accomplished by publishing drug-related materials and delivering law enforcement messages to immigrant communities in their first (and sometimes only) language. In some locations, public distrust of the police runs deep and community relations efforts which have succeeded elsewhere by police departments must be introduced.

Georgetown, Texas:

Designing a Drug-Free Environment

Located in America's second-fastest growing county, Georgetown is battling to retain a small-town sense of security as its population soars from 20,000 toward 50,000. A few years ago, growth was straining police-community relations, and crime was at an all-time high. Officers focused on arrests, and residents were wary of the police.

Today 95 percent of Georgetown residents have a positive perception of police services. The Georgetown Police Department now relies on collaboration with community residents, social service organizations and city agencies. The police successfully resolve 80 percent of all illegal drug and alcohol problems they identify. In short, the department has made notable strides in creating a safer, more cohesive community.

A classic illustration of Georgetown's successful approach is the Blue Hole Park clean-up project. Just two years ago, this secluded swimming area surrounded by woods and rocks was a treacherous place, often the scene of drug-related crimes. Today, Blue Hole is a safe, pleasant site where parents often take their children for swimming excursions.

The dramatic change is due mostly to the Georgetown Police Department's implementation of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), modeled after an effort developed in Sarasota, Florida. First, the police worked with the community and other agencies to design a plan. In the initiative's first month, they established a zero tolerance policy around Blue Hole, instituted frequent patrols, issued over 200 citations and made numerous arrests. They also worked with the community to cut back Blue Hole's surrounding shrubbery and clean up the area. Before long, criminal behavior was virtually eliminated from Blue Hole.

CPTED also helped return downtown Georgetown from a problem area to a charming, Victorian-style community. "Now we routinely work with the Town Planning and Development Commission on city planning," said Georgetown Police Chief Larry Hesser. "By reviewing blueprints for new buildings, we're helping the Commission design an urban environment that discourages crime while promoting economic development."

Recently, the Commission requested funding to hire a full-time police officer to assist in city planning and development efforts.

For more information about Georgetown's policing efforts, call (512) 930-3515.

Elgin, Illinois:

Crossing Cultural Borders to Save Lives

Driving while under the influence of alcohol and other drugs is a serious problem in most communities. After struggling to reduce a disproportionately high drunk driving rate in one of the nation's fastest-growing immigrant populations, officers in Elgin realized that traditional law enforcement approaches would not work, particularly in Hispanic immigrant communities, where many residents fear law enforcement personnel due to ill treatment by police in their home countries or tenuous legal status in the United States.

In 1994, with funding from the Illinois Department of Transportation, the Elgin Police Department created a community outreach program specifically for Hispanic newcomers. Modeled after an initiative of the California Highway Patrol, *El Protector* uses a non-threatening approach to educate community members about the dangers of impaired driving.

Officer Pete Almedia, who is bilingual and has extensive experience in Elgin's Hispanic community, was appointed Program Director, but the program did not get off to a flying start.

"I publicized my first *El Protector* educational session by distributing flyers and placing announcements all over the city," he said, "but on the day of the presentation, only two people showed up. From that point on, I stopped trying to organize *El Protector* meetings independently and started looking for opportunities to deliver informal presentations to Hispanic populations that were already assembled for other reasons."

Officer Almedia traveled throughout the state to speak at parades, festivals, schools, community colleges, hospitals and social service organizations. The program also works through community organizations and the media to broadly disseminate drunk-driving prevention messages among Hispanic audiences. Law enforcement agencies in several Illinois counties have launched *El Protector* programs of their own, and their officers say the programs are significantly improving relations and communication between police and Hispanic residents.

To learn more about Elgin's *El Protector* program, call (847) 289-2633.

V. Current Police Approaches: Back to the Beat

By the 1990s, it was clear that traditional police tactics were not effective in reducing drug activity or the concerns and fears of residents in drug-infested neighborhoods. As a result, several new and complementary trends have emerged to make police work more effective, particularly in combating drug-related crime. For example, in many locations police are increasingly expanding **foot patrols,** although motor patrols remain the primary means of law enforcement. Community policing, problem-oriented policing and order maintenance policing are terms used to describe these new strategies.

Community Policing. Community policing evolved out of foot patrol experiments in the 1980s and is now regarded by a growing number of law enforcement officials as a crucial element in reconnecting police with the community. Community policing relies on police officers and private citizens working together to reduce crime and disorder and restore community cohesion. At the center of this strategy is the community police officer, whose mission is to maintain direct daily contact with the citizens of a small, defined area. This officer serves as liaison between the community and the police, and quality-of-life issues are as much a priority as crime fighting.

Problem-Oriented Policing. Problem-oriented policing emphasizes officers' creative thinking about crime problems. Where there are patterns of crime and victimization, problem-oriented police are expected to discover the cause, identify a solution and obtain the resources needed to implement it. Community policing inevitably involves problem-oriented policing. The problem-oriented approach can be implemented without a community police presence, though ideally the two are concurrent. For example, a police officer may realize that drug sales in a certain locale are facilitated by a nearby building with lax management, many vacant rooms and conveniently placed **pay phones.** Had the neighborhood been assigned to a community policing officer, the building's role in encouraging drug activity would have been pointed out by neighbors, probably long before it generated a large number of arrests.

“In community policing, quality-of-life issues are as important as crime fighting.”

“Problem-oriented policing looks for patterns, causes and resources.”

Neither community policing nor problem-oriented policing are easy to implement in a traditional department. **Research** indicates a great deal of police resistance to both approaches, especially from veteran officers who equate crime fighting with arrests. Some communities are so shattered that it is difficult to find leaders who can mobilize community support for the community policing model. In those communities where leaders have emerged, additional training is key to success in the community policing model. For example, Chicago has introduced problem-solving training for both citizens and police officers across the city in a cooperative strategy to reduce crime.

Order Maintenance Policing. Another emerging new approach to law enforcement involves order maintenance policing, which encompasses both "hot spots" policing and "broken windows" policing. Police have always known that there are certain "hot spots" in any community which generate a large number of calls for service. Research confirms this wisdom: it is estimated that 10 percent of locations generate about 60 percent of the crimes. A "hot spot" might be a tavern, a house or a park.

The presence of uniformed officers tends to deter the activities of would-be offenders; it also guarantees immediate response to problems. By concentrating law enforcement resources in specific locations for several hours a day, "hot spots" strategies disrupt retail drug sales, without necessarily increasing arrests. The Federal government encourages such focused policing for drug enforcement through its High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas program. The Charleston, South Carolina, police have adopted a "hot spot" strategy that includes stationing police at the busiest **drug markets** and photographing drug buyers.

Another approach to order maintenance policing builds on the "broken windows" metaphor developed by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling. They observed that if a building has a broken window which is not repaired promptly, at least a few passersby will throw stones at the windows, assuming that risks are minimal since apparently no one is

“Strong community leaders are key to the success of the community policing model.”

keeping a close watch on the building. In a short time, all the windows will be broken. If the original broken pane is replaced rapidly, however, the remaining windows are likely to remain intact. Similarly, if a neighborhood appears vulnerable, with open drug dealing, graffiti or other visible signs of disorder, potential offenders are more likely to target that area. Visible signals that residents care about their neighborhoods may convince would-be criminals to go elsewhere.

Some law enforcement strategies are multi-purpose. In Boston, a program named Operation Cease Fire was introduced to target high-risk youth, after a record number of homicides in 1990. Since June 1995, no youth homicides have occurred in Boston, as police and community members have teamed up to eliminate gang-related activity, which in turn has had an impact on drug-related crime. **Gang suppression** and targeted enforcement efforts have been combined with an array of prevention programs.

All these new approaches involve re-thinking the traditional model of rapid police response to calls and insulation of the police force within the narrow scope of its work. New approaches emphasize proactive and co-active policing, in contrast to the reactive policing that has prevailed since the 1950s.

“Hot spots—10 percent of locations generate 60 percent of crimes.”

“Broken windows—vunerable neighborhoods attract crime.”

Charleston, South Carolina:

Busting Dealers From the Bottom Line

Arresting offenders is one way to stop drug dealers, but arresting their flow of profits can be equally effective. Charleston has developed a comprehensive strategy that focuses on driving drug dealers out of neighborhoods by disrupting their business.

"Our approach combines community policing, hot spots, and broken windows techniques to clean up neighborhoods and remove problem tenants," says Chief Reuben Greenberg. "Our officers have come up with some clever tactics to take back the city, block by block."

For example, recognizing that drug purchasers are unlikely to buy if there is a uniformed officer on the block, officers shadow the city's busiest drug markets. The local office of the American Civil Liberties Union confirmed that as long as officers stand 40 feet away from suspected dealers, they violate no civil rights. The officers' presence quickly disrupts most dealer-consumer contacts, and after a brief period of intensive shadowing, police need only return periodically to keep the drug markets shut down. The program began with five officers shadowing five areas. Eventually, these five officers were able to expand their surveillance to a total of 13 locations.

In a related maneuver, officers use cameras with bright flashes to photograph drug buyers. Once customers are photographed, officers seldom see them return to the same location.

Finally, Charleston's officers have perfected the "fake search warrant" technique. A surveillance officer folds a blank piece of paper to look like a search warrant and approaches the front door of a targeted house, while another officer goes to the back to observe. As the surveillance officer approaches, the dealers often begin throwing their product out of windows. Of course, that provides the observing officer with sufficient probable cause to apply for a real search warrant—and also reduces the dealer's profits.

For more information on these tactics and other aspects of the Charleston Police Department's approach, call (803) 723-6080.

Boston, Massachusetts:

Decreasing Drug-Related Violence and Death

In 1990, homicides in Boston hit an all-time high of 152. Much of the violence was linked with a thriving drug trade, and 18 of the victims were school-age kids. Gangs and drug dealers had turned sections of the city into combat zones for young people.

Since June 1995, no youth homicides have occurred in Boston, and in 1996 the city's total homicides dropped to 59—a 30 year low. This remarkable success resulted from a strategic collaboration that teamed the Boston Police with a broad array of government agencies, community organizations, churches and schools. Together, they developed Operation Cease Fire, an intensive effort targeting high-risk youth.

Police meet with community members to identify "hot spots" of gang violence and develop tactics to eliminate gang-related activity. Officers then meet with gang members, who are informed of the department's zero tolerance policy for gang violence and warned that they will be subject to intensive police scrutiny if they don't cease immediately.

When one notorious, crack-dealing gang ignored demands to end a series of shootings, officers arrested 23 members in a single day, most of them on Federal drug charges. The police then called in a National Guard bulldozer to topple the gang's shack in a vacant lot. That gang is now out of business.

Through one of Operation Cease Fire's programs, Operation Night Light, probation officers join late-night police patrols to help identify youth who are violating their probation by being on the streets after curfew. For these kids, any violation of court-ordered restrictions, such as ignoring curfew, can lead to state prison.

"Operation Night Light gives youth a legitimate excuse to be off the streets and severely punishes those who are not," said Boston Police Commissioner Paul F. Evans. The program is now being replicated in Florida, Maryland, Minnesota, New York and several other states.

To find out more about the Boston Police Department's crime reduction efforts, call (617) 343-4444.

Chicago, Illinois:

Training Citizens for Teamwork

Residents in 20 out of Chicago's 25 police districts report drugs and crime as the city's most daunting problems. The city has responded to these concerns through the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), inaugurated in 1993 as a pilot program in five neighborhoods. To reduce demand for drugs, police are collaborating with the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety (CANS) to provide problem-solving training to community members. Police receive similar training in this citywide community policing strategy.

"Unlike many training programs, which bring residents into a centralized facility for a one-time overview of police operations, we train citizens in their own neighborhoods—in schools, parks and churches," said Barbara McDonald, Director of the Research Division, Chicago Police Department. "We teach them a five-step problem-solving model, and by the end of the training, they apply what they've learned to solve a real crime problem in their area." So far, the department has trained more than 8,000 residents using 14 police officers and 14 community trainers.

After training local residents, beat officers lead monthly community meetings to help them identify problems and develop solutions. Between January 1995 and April 1996, more than 80,000 residents attended these meetings. Residents and police work together to follow up on the problems identified, and police resources are focused on the most threatening issues.

To support this effort, the Chicago Police Department has developed computer systems that enable beat officers to closely track crime information and request crime-reducing actions on behalf of the community, such as towing abandoned cars, fixing lights, or demolishing abandoned buildings. Weekly printouts of the results are given to the officers, who share them with community members. The program is being evaluated by a consortium of four universities, funded primarily by the National Institute of Justice.

For more information, call (312) 747-6203.

Expenditures. Within the last two decades, spending on drug control by all levels of government has increased significantly. This growth has been led by spending on domestic law enforcement. In 1984, domestic law enforcement, demand reduction and international supply control each accounted for about one-third of the $2.36 billion Federal anti-drug budget. Ten years later, the Federal anti-drug budget had grown to $12.18 billion; domestic law enforcement accounted for half. Within domestic drug law enforcement, the drug-related budget of the Justice Department's Bureau of Prisons has seen the most extraordinary growth, averaging an increase of nearly $120 million per year since 1981.

The considerable increase in spending on prisons stems not only from the steep rise in drug-related arrests, but also from a series of Federal laws enacted since 1984 providing for mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenders. **Judges** are now required to impose a sentence of minimum specified length if certain criteria are met. For example, under Federal law someone convicted of possessing half a kilogram or more of cocaine powder must be sentenced to at least five years in prison. A 1997 RAND study finds mandatory minimum sentencing laws to be less cost-effective in reducing drug abuse and drug-related crime than enforcement under a more discretionary sentencing regime, and even less effective than treatment programs for heavy drug users. Law enforcement dollars spent on long prison terms accomplish less in the fight against drugs than do resources applied to policing, drug treatment, and drug courts.

The Census Bureau estimates that state and local governments spent $12.7 billion of their tax dollars on drug control in 1991, exceeding the $11 billion Federal anti-drug budget for the same year. The local estimate did not include expenditures by specialized units of government, such as independent school districts, and should be considered conservative. In 1991, law

"Mandatory minimum sentences contribute to increasing prison construction."

Bureau of Prisons Jumps Ten Fold

Average Annual Drug Control Expenditure

1991-95	**$1.34 Billion**
1981-85	**$119 Million**

Office of National Drug Control Policy

"Treatment is the most cost-effective way to combat drug abuse and related crime."

enforcement accounted for more than three-quarters of all state and local drug control spending, with the remainder dedicated to treatment and prevention.

While Federal, state and local drug control spending assigns low priority to treatment and prevention, extensive research confirms that treatment is the most cost effective way to combat drug abuse and drug-related crime. A 1994 RAND study found that $34 million invested in **treatment** would reduce cocaine use as much as an expenditure of $246 million for law enforcement or $366 million for interdiction. Intensive prison treatment programs can reduce recidivism by half after release, with programs more than paying for themselves in reduced crime costs.

Federal Programs. In Fiscal Year 1996 (FY'96), Federal crime prevention assistance totaled nearly $4 billion. At least $2 billion of the funds went to local policing, largely through grants from the Justice Department's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) and Office of Justice Programs. The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), responsible for developing a consolidated national drug control budget, calculates that more than half of FY'96 Federal crime prevention assistance was related to drug control. (See appendices for greater detail.)

Domestic Drug Law Enforcement Spending Rises Eight Fold

Average Annual Drug Control Expenditure

Office of National Drug Control Policy

This assessment takes into account Federal support through such programs as the Justice Department's Local Law Enforcement Block Grants, the Byrne Grant Program and Operation Weed and Seed; the Department of Education's Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program; and the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Public and Indian Housing Drug Elimination Program.

Much of the Federal crime prevention funding allocated to local policing simply supports additional police presence, regardless of police activities. Evidence suggests that while simply adding police

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may help prevent crime. Federal funding would be more effective if it were targeted to high-crime areas rather than allocated on the basis of population size. Indeed, recent research by Thomas B. Marvell and Carlisle E. Moody found that each additional police officer assigned to a big city prevents six times as many serious crimes each year as an officer hired in a smaller community elsewhere in a state. In *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*—a 1997 report mandated by **Congress** and prepared by the University of Maryland Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice—the authors suggest that Congress revise its method for allocating crime prevention funds. The proposed formula would target not only "city-level violent crime, but beat-level and block-level crime as well. Such a revision would be more effective in directing Federal funds as precisely as possible for maximum crime prevention."

Federal crime prevention funding could be more effective if invested simultaneously in an array of interdependent local institutions—not only the police, but also communities, families and schools. Currently, the Justice Department's Operation Weed and Seed and Community Prevention Grants Program (run by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention) appear to provide the best examples of the simultaneous investment approach. However, these programs together receive only one percent of Federal crime prevention funding.

Where funds are scarce, **communities** themselves sometimes finance worthwhile projects. In Kansas City, Kansas, residents of a housing project plagued by drug dealing raised money to equip police with patrol bikes and uniforms after the police department indicated it was unable to assume these costs. In Kansas City, Missouri, voters have given strong and consistent support to an anti-drug sales surtax that funds law enforcement, prevention and treatment.

"Federal crime prevention funds are most effective when combined with community, family and school efforts."

Kansas City, Kansas:

Embracing Community Policing

In June 1992 the Kansas City Housing Authority asked the police department's Community Policing Unit for help in tackling severe drug-related problems in densely populated housing complexes. Dilapidated units not only housed drug dealers but attracted children who would explore the dangerous and abandoned buildings after school. With funding from a HUD Drug Elimination grant, off-duty Kansas City police officers, employed as Housing Authority Security Officers, worked with the Grand View Manor Housing Tenants Association to reduce drug dealing and violent crime. In the second year of police-tenant collaboration, crime decreased by 83 percent according to Master Sergeant John Dressler, and the team was awarded the Kansas Koch Commission Award for Innovation.

Building on this success, the Kansas City Police Department used Federal and city funding to develop a permanent community policing division in 1995. One community policing officer is now assigned to nearly every district in the city. Officers work closely with neighborhood residents to coordinate watch groups and street marches. In response to persistent teen gang and drug-related problems, they have helped establish youth-focused education programs and other interventions. When police distributed turkey dinners and toys to low-income families at Christmas, local media publicized their actions extensively.

"In 1996, local associations asked that community police officers patrol their neighborhoods on bicycles, but we were hesitant because of the financial burden of equipping an entire bike patrol unit. So the community members took it upon themselves to raise enough money to buy 18 police mountain bikes and uniforms for the assigned officers," said Master Sergeant Dressler of the Community Policing Division.

Local residents aren't the only ones who see the wisdom of investing in community policing. City officials see community policing as "some of the best money we have ever spent," according to Mayor Carol Marinovich, and are determined to see that it stays in place after Federal funding expires in 1998.

To find out more about the Kansas City, Kansas Police Department's drug reduction efforts, call (913) 596-7020.

Lawrence, Massachusetts:

Homing in on Public Housing

In 1989, the Lawrence Public Housing Projects were among the most dangerous areas in town. Rampant drug dealing and crime placed people at risk at their own doorstep, and drug users traveled from as far as Maine to purchase drugs there. Today, the community is one of the safest in Lawrence.

In 1990, local police joined forces with the Lawrence Housing Authority to establish an on-site community policing program. Funded under a HUD Drug Elimination grant, the program targets approximately 1,300 family units in four housing developments. Two full-time community police officers are assigned to patrol the projects by foot, bicycle and car. Additionally, the Massachusetts State Police placed three part-time female officers on the premises who focus on adolescent concerns, such as teen pregnancy and substance abuse.

A key factor in this program's success has been the creation of numerous alliances with community organizations, public agencies and local businesses. In addition, the team has forged a strong working relationship with the Lawrence Public School System. At the end of each month, the community policing office receives attendance records for the children who live in the housing projects. Officers then visit households whose children have had more than two absences in a month, in an effort to prevent further problems.

During the summer the officers organize a host of youth recreation programs to strengthen bonds with the community and provide healthy diversion for kids. They also hire local teens to monitor the activities and help serve lunches to the youngsters. Over the past two years, this program has helped feed over 500 kids.

It has also achieved its original objective. Between 1991 and 1995, Drug Abuse Prevention Office arrests have decreased dramatically for several crimes: possession of heroin with intent to distribute plunged from 48 arrests to 1; possession of cocaine with intent to distribute declined from 29 to 0; and conspiracy to violate drug laws dropped from 15 to 3.

For more information, contact the Lawrence Housing Authority at (508) 683-3104.

VII. Future Directions

By a ratio of two to one, police chiefs believe that more emphasis on education, prevention and treatment is needed to solve the nation's persistent drug problem. Law enforcement agencies are demonstrating creativity and **leadership** in exploring new methods to address drug abuse and associated crime.

"Program evaluation is urgently needed to see which innovations should be replicated."

Building Collaboration. Clearly, greater collaboration within and among law enforcement agencies can contribute significantly to these efforts. Police officers universally recommend increased information sharing, since one unit of a police department may be unaware of the activities of other units. Similarly, neighboring districts can increase effectiveness through cross-boundary communication and collaboration. Many police officers also call for greater **cooperation** between community policing officers and traditional law enforcement divisions.

An important relationship is that between police departments and agencies which manage services and which play key roles in prevention and treatment efforts. County governments spend an estimated $48 billion annually on health and human services, according to the National Association of Counties. Closer collaboration between police departments and county officials, as well as city officials, offers greater opportunity for problem solving. For example, the Children and Family Services agency in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, is in the process of reconfiguring its districts to coincide with police districts in order to improve coordination and police protection for social workers delivering services in high-risk situations. The Midtown Community Court in New York City not only provides on-site social services but also frequently assigns counselors to accompany patrol officers and help with situations involving the homeless, alcoholics and drug addicts.

Measuring Success. Federal funds support less than one percent of local criminal justice budgets (not counting the COPS program). Such limited Federal reach means that Federal funds are best used to stimulate innovations that make the use of local tax dollars

more effective. Program evaluation is urgently needed to identify replicable policing innovations. To date, the increase in operational funds dedicated to crime prevention—and to local policing in particular—has far out-paced support for program evaluation. Indeed, the proportion of Justice Department funding allocated to evaluating its assistance programs has declined from 10 percent to 2 percent over the last decade. Of the first 5,000 Byrne grants, the National Institute of Justice and Bureau of Justice Assistance were able to sponsor evaluations of only 150. Indeed, the most heavily-funded area under the Byrne grants—Multi-jurisdictional Drug Task Forces—received 40 percent of Byrne Formula funding from 1989-1994 without having been subject to a published impact evaluation. Research now receives only four percent of the overall Federal drug control budget, and these funds are used primarily for prevention and treatment studies. Less than one percent of the overall budget is used for research to improve law enforcement and interdiction efforts, which in FY'97 accounted for almost two-thirds of the total $15.1 billion drug budget.

Criminologists observe that there has been neither adequate funding for program evaluation nor a structure that permits controlled evaluations. To rectify this, the University of Maryland report, *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*, recommends that Congress set aside 10 percent of all Federal crime prevention funding to support independent program evaluations.

To the extent that law enforcement is able to adopt proactive—as opposed to simply reactive—strategies to combat drug abuse and related crime, resources dedicated to drug law enforcement will be better spent. Innovative policing is a link to **prevention** and treatment programs, not a substitute for them. The potential rewards of community policing and other new approaches will depend upon the vitality of the available prevention and treatment programs and other social services.

“Justice Department evaluation funding for assistance programs has declined from 10 percent to 2 percent over the last decade.”

New York, New York:

Community Policing Bolstered by Community Court

"In addition to making small-time offenders pay back the community through community service, Midtown Community Court gives offenders a chance to address the problems that got them into trouble, along with the resources to help them turn their lives around," according to John Feinblatt, Director. "We work closely with the New York Police Department to make justice more visible and more constructive to community residents."

Established in 1993, Manhattan's Midtown Community Court focuses on misdemeanors and low-level "quality-of-life" crimes. The court approaches sentencing as an opportunity to solve problems. It is the first criminal court in the country with on-site social services, such as counseling, health care, education and treatment for defendants with drug or alcohol problems.

In fact, the court endeavors to reach troubled citizens *before* drug-related behavior leads to arrest. Street Outreach Services (SOS), a joint project with the New York Police Department, pairs counselors from the court with police officers on patrol. Together, the SOS teams identify and find treatment for homeless individuals, alcoholics, and drug addicts.

Prior to the establishment of the court, offenders would often be back on the street before the officers who arrested them. Now, officers can log onto the Midtown Community Court's computer system to see what action is being taken after an arrest is made so at the touch of a button an officer can find out if a warrant has been ordered. Offenders are brought to justice in the neighborhoods where their crimes occur, through penalties such as street cleaning, graffiti clean-up and other forms of community service.

Donations from corporations and foundations as well as the city and Federal government help support this innovative institution, and their investment is paying off, according to an independent evaluation by the National Center for State Courts. In its first two years, the court achieved the city's highest compliance rate for community service (76 percent). Prostitution arrests in Midtown have fallen by 56 percent, and arrests for illegal vending dropped by 24 percent. The Court arraigns nearly 16,000 cases annually, making it one of the busiest courts in the city.

For more information, call (212) 484-2700.

VIII. Methodology

Drug Strategies conducted a "snowball sample" of criminal justice experts to identify innovative drug demand-reduction programs being conducted in police departments across the nation. A snowball sample is a non-probability sampling method often employed in field research: each respondent is asked to suggest additional individuals for interviewing.

The following organizations were contacted as part of this survey: the Police Executive Research Forum, the Police Foundation, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, the National Sheriffs Association, the U.S. Department of Justice (Office of Science and Technology, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, and the National Institute of Justice), the High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas Programs, the Hoover Institution, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Neighborhoods, U.S.A., and the National Association of Drug Court Professionals.

Drug Strategies commissioned Dr. Jody Crowley, Department of Criminal Justice, University of New Mexico, to interview police using a snowball sampling. She also designed and **test-piloted** the survey instrument which was used for the structured telephone interviews. In addition to the snowball sample, Drug Strategies identified innovative police programs through a variety of methods, including a review of the literature and analysis of the previous three years' issues of several publications, including *The Police Chief, Criminal Justice Newsletter, Catalyst* (Crime Prevention Coalition of America) and *Community Policing Exchange*.

Another productive review involved police sites on the World Wide Web. A rapidly increasing number of cities have developed web pages that provide descriptions of city government, including the police. In addition, several police departments maintain their own web sites. Departments that described unique drug-related programs were targeted for the telephone survey. As part of the interview, department representatives were asked if they could suggest other departments that they considered to have introduced innovative approaches to drug problems.

A **structured interview** ensured that each interview covered comprehensive topics. The interview was conducted either with the chief of police or the senior officer responsible for the anti-drug initiative. While these respondents did not necessarily have a comprehensive view of departmental policies, they shared their detailed knowledge of the specific drug-related programs that were the target of the project. Over 50 police departments were contacted. In-depth interviews were conducted with 25 departments. In some cases, programs identified by others as innovative were no longer being implemented by the department due to budget cuts or changes in personnel. A National Advisory Panel reviewed the selected programs and made additional suggestions.

The "Broken Windows" Theory

This theory claims that areas appearing disorderly convey the message that nobody cares and nobody is in charge, inviting criminal behavior. Just as a building with broken windows attracts more stones than one without, an out-of-control neighborhood creates an attractive climate for crime, emboldening criminals with the message that "anything goes." The broken windows analogy is used to argue that greater police attention to petty crime can inhibit serious crime as well.

Co-Active and Pro-Active Policing

The terms co-active and pro-active distinguish between innovative policing strategies and the primarily reactive mode that has characterized law enforcement since mid-century. Pro-active police act on their own initiative, rather than waiting to be called to a crime scene. Co-active police are not insulated from the community, but rather collaborate with other entities, from neighborhood groups and churches to other government agencies.

Community Policing

Community policing emerged in reaction to the dominant emergency-response model of policing, which has been criticized for separating the police from the community. In general, community policing is meant to reduce crime both by stimulating improved information exchange between police and community members, and by bolstering public opinion that the police are fair and equitable.

Directed Patrols and Hot Spots Policing

Taking advantage of the greater precision in tracking crime made possible by computers, police can focus patrol resources on the times and places with the highest risk of serious crime. Since the risk of crime appears to be extremely localized even within high-crime neighborhoods, concentrating patrols in these hot spots and at hot times should be the most effective use of police to reduce crime.

Front-End and Back-End Criminal Justice Strategies

Front-end criminal justice strategies intend to prevent crimes from occurring by early intervention, perhaps through community policing, gun control, or drug prevention and treatment programs. Back-end criminal justice strategies emphasize the capture and punishment of criminals after they commit crimes, both for the sake of punishment itself and for its deterrent effects. Favored back-end policies include long prison terms and mandatory minimum sentencing requirements.

Order Maintenance Policing

Order maintenance policing derives from the "broken windows" theory, which holds that neighborhood disorder and minor crimes left unchecked can create the conditions in which more serious crimes multiply. By targeting even nuisance crimes, order maintenance policing intends to assure the community—and give notice to potential offenders—that crime will not be tolerated.

Problem-Oriented Policing

Problem-oriented policing encompasses the myriad police efforts to reduce crime by minimizing the immediate causes of specific patterns of crime. Like community policing, problem-oriented policing calls for creative police officers. But problem-oriented policing does not necessarily depend on improved contact with the citizenry. Rather, the goal is to reduce the chances that the components of crime will come together at the same place and time.

TABLE 1

Federal Crime Prevention Assistance Related to Drug Control
Fiscal Year 1996

Program	Total Program Funding	Program Funding Considered Drug-Related	Percent of Program Funding Considered Drug-Related	Program as a Percent of Federal Drug-Related Crime Prevention Funding
Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)	1,300	430	33%	20%
Byrne Memorial State & Local Law Enforcement Assistance Formula & Discretionary Grants	507	414	82%	20%
Local Law Enforcement Block Grants Program	488	308	63%	15%
Safe & Drug-Free Schools & Communities	466	466	100%	22%
Prison Construction Grants	405	8	2%	<0.5%
Public & Indian Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP)	290	290	100%	14%
Violence Against Women Grants	165	28	17%	1%
Juvenile Justice Grant Programs	139	8	6%	<0.5%
High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTA) Program	103	103	100%	5%
Operation Weed & Seed	28	9	32%	<0.5%
Corrections Substance Abuse Treatment	27	27	100%	1%
Drug Courts Grants	15	9	60%	<0.5%
TOTAL	**$3,933**	**$2,100**	**53%**	**100%**

Sources: ONDCP, *The National Drug Control Strategy, 1997: Budget Summary*
L.W. Sherman et al., *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*

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TABLE 2

Federal Crime Prevention Assistance Allocated to Local Policing Fiscal Year 1996

(In Millions of Dollars)

Program	Total Program Funding	Program Funding Allocated to Local Policing	Percent of Program Funding Allocated to Local Policing	Program as a Percent of Federal Crime Prevention Funding Allocated to Local Policing
Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)	1,300	1,300	100%	66%
Byrne Memorial State & Local Law Enforcement Assistance Formula & Discretionary Grants	507	234	46%	12%
Local Law Enforcement Block Grants Program	488	287	59%	14%
Safe & Drug-Free Schools & Communities	466	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Prison Construction Grants	405	0	0%	0%
Public & Indian Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP)	290	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Violence Against Women Grants	165	76	46%	4%
Juvenile Justice Grant Programs	139	16	12%	1%
High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTA) Program	103	62	60%	3%
Operation Weed & Seed	28	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Corrections Substance Abuse Treatment	27	0	0%	0%
Drug Courts Grants	15	0	0%	0%
TOTALS	**$3,933**	**$1,975**	**50%**	**100%**

Note: A significant proportion of Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities funding is apparently allocated to local policing, for purposes ranging from prevention education to school security. Indeed, the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities program may be among the three or four largest sources of Federal crime prevention assistance provided to local police. However, the level of data on spending by recipient local education agencies (LEAs) is currently inadequate to permit meaningful estimates of the amount of program funds actually allocated to local policing.

Sources: *ONDCP, The National Drug Control Strategy, 1997: Budget Summary*
L.W. Sherman et al., *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*

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Selected Findings From Drugs and Crime Across America: Police Chiefs Speak Out

A national telephone survey of police chiefs conducted in 1996 by the Police Foundation and Drug Strategies for Peter D. Hart Research Associates

Compared to five years ago, do you feel that drug abuse today is a much greater problem, a somewhat greater problem, about the same, somewhat less of a problem, or much less of a problem?

	All Police Chiefs	Large Cities	Medium Communities	Small Towns	American Public, 2/95
A much greater problem	34	35	27	36	46
A somewhat greater problem	29	31	28	28	22
About the same	31	26	38	31	25
Somewhat less of a problem	5	7	5	4	5
Much less of a problem	-	-	-	-	1
Not sure	1	1	2	1	1

Do you feel that drug use is more of a crime problem better handled by the criminal justice system, or more of a public health problem better handled by prevention and treatment programs?

	All Police Chiefs	Large Cities	Medium Communities	Small Towns	American Public, 2/95
Criminal justice system	38	24	30	48	34
Prevention and treatment programs	27	34	37	20	53
Both equally (VOL)	34	41	33	31	-
Not sure	1	1	-	1	13

Which one of the following strategies do you feel would be the most effective approach to controlling the drug problem in the United States—education, interdiction, treatment, or punishment?

	All Police Chiefs	Large Cities	Medium Communities	Small Towns
Education	47	60	52	38
Interdiction	28	16	28	34
Punishment	15	10	5	20
Treatment	5	10	5	4
Not sure	5	4	10	4

From your perspective, how effective have mandatory minimum sentences for drug possession been in reducing drug trafficking in your community—very effective, fairly effective, only somewhat effective, or not really the answer to the problem in your community?

	All Police Chiefs	Large Cities	Medium Communities	Small Towns
Very effective	7	10	7	6
Fairly effective	14	17	8	14
Only somewhat effective	33	31	37	33
Not really the answer	40	36	40	42
Don't have mandatory minimum sentencing (VOL)	4	2	5	4
Not sure	2	4	3	1

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Drug Strategies promotes more effective approaches to the nation's drug problems and supports private and public initiatives that reduce the demand for drugs through prevention, education, treatment, law enforcement and community coalitions.

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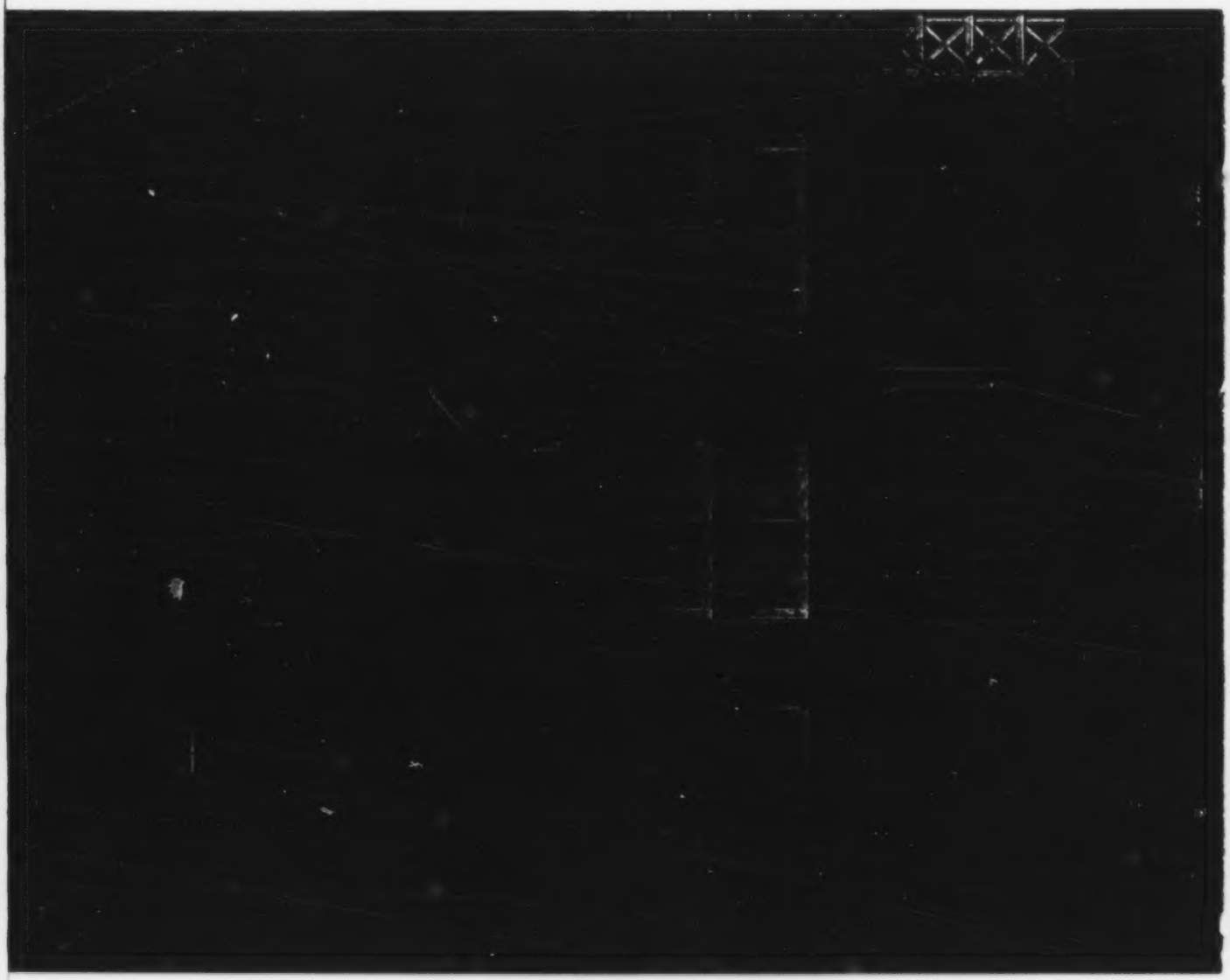

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